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younger brother to the scene of the murder, by simply stating: "one day, at night, the elder went to the sleeping hut of the younger...."

In other cases, however, the situational and temporal details tend to build up a vivid, concrete picture of the happenings in the story. Thus, for example, 4 Nupe (6 in the second recall) mention that the brothers were 'travelling about' when they saw the girl; 3 (5) let the brothers meet the girl 'in town'; (N 25) adds the information that the brothers 'afterwards returned home'. And after describing the murder 3 (6) Nupe continue the story as follows: "On the morrow", or "when it became day, the people heard of the crime." Yet these connexions never strengthen the cohesion of the narrative as such. On the contrary, one gains the impression that the story dissolves itself into a number of different scenes and situations.

This difference between the tense, logically convincing way in which the Yoruba reproduce the story, and the loosely knit Nupe way of retelling which is concerned more with details of situation and temporal sequence, becomes most evident in connexion with the 'situational' item in the story, that the murder was done 'at night'. Among the Nupe this is in itself an important feature which is given a prominent place in the reproduction. Thus:

(N 54) The younger brother refused to leave the girl. The elder left the matter then. Till one day, at night,....

(N 60) The younger brother said: "No." Then it became night. The younger brother slept in his hut. The elder took his sword, and killed him on that night.

But among the Yoruba the reference to the night is clearly a minor detail which is pushed into a relative sentence and is quite overshadowed by the really relevant fact, which is the connexion between the anger of the elder brother and the murder.

(Y 6) The two brothers quarrelled terribly. The elder pulled out his sword and went to kill the younger brother where he slept.

(Y 9) The brothers quarrelled, and when night came the elder took his sword. He went and cut off the head of the younger brother because he had spoiled his heart.

(Y 15) They quarrelled about the girl. So much that at night the elder took his sword, went to the place where the younger slept and attacked him with his sword till he killed him.

(4) *Emotional and moral aspects*

In this experiment, rather surprisingly, the emotional factor seems to go hand in hand with the reasoning factor. Emotional and rational aspects do not seem to represent divergent or even independent principles; the more 'rational' Yoruba stress at the same time emotional reaction; and

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the Nupe, neglecting rational connexions, seem to neglect the emotional aspect as well. The explanation is that the facts and events which bear on emotional reactions may be interpreted as rational motivations of the acts related in the story. This is in fact how the Yoruba approach, and utilize, the emotional aspects of the narrative.

Yet the comparative weakness of the emotional factor in the Nupe reproduction is not due to the Nupe lack of appreciation for rational connexions. The emphasis on emotional factors as far as it is evident in the Nupe version is not correlated with factors of reasoning; the appreciation of such elements as the beauty of the girl, her sadness after the murder, or the strength of the brothers' love, is not turned at once (as is the tendency among the Yoruba) into an interpretation of motives and reasons, but seems to represent a specific, self-sufficient trait. To a certain extent the emotional response among the Nupe appears linked with the tendency to dissolve the narrative into a series of concrete situations. (N 25) is a good example: he mentions that the brothers 'returned home' after they met the girl; he reproduces the girl's avowal of her love for the younger brother in the wrong place, but again in a typical 'situational' context: "when the girl learned of the murder, she said that she had only loved the younger brother"; he lets the people speak as follows: "This is what he did, God will revenge it." But he repeats twice how strongly the brothers loved the girl, and although he does not connect the girl's sadness with her disappearance, he does not omit, as many other Nupe did, the girl's 'aching heart'. But the cases in which I could find a similar correlation are few, and it seems possible that the emotional bias among the Nupe constitutes an independent, secondary psychological characteristic which may only run parallel to what we discovered to be the dominant trait in Nupe reproduction: stress on situational and temporal connexions.

The response to the moral ideas which are referred to in the narrative is again bound up with rational factors. The reinterpretation and rationalization of the statement "God will revenge it" which we discussed above is a point in question. But the attitude to the moral statements adds a new characteristic to the psychological differentiation of the two groups. All the Nupe reproductions keep closely to the meaning of the sentence "he has done an evil deed". The Yoruba reproductions on the other hand are much more varied and depart much more freely from the original. Here are a few Yoruba versions:

First recall:

(Y 6) The people said: "he abused his power over the younger brother."

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(Y 12) It surprised the people (to hear) what the elder brother had done. They said, "one should leave him alone, God will punish him."

(Y 18) When the people learned of the deed, it pained them very much. They said: "God will revenge it."

Second recall:

(Y 1) The people judged the elder guilty and evil; but God would punish him.

(Y 2) and (Y 5) The people were very sorry for the boy, but (they said): "Our Lord God will punish him."

(Y 12) The people said: "The elder should have left the younger alone. God will punish him."

To the Nupe then, the unspecific and abstract reference to the wickedness of the deed seems natural and satisfactory. The vague, schematic connexion which the story establishes between the wrong deed and the supernatural punishment, seems to satisfy their attitude towards moral value. The Yoruba, on the other hand, feel the urge to define the nature of the evil deed more closely and more explicitly. They weigh specific deed against specific punishment. Their attitude to the moral judgment is the same as to all the other features of the story: rational, and intent on clear logical connexions.

(5) *Arrangement and order*

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It is interesting to study the question of the order in which the events of the story are related and remembered. In the first recall the Nupe frequently (in 11 cases) rearrange this order, but only 2 Yoruba do the same. The explanation, however, cannot be that the precise, logically coherent narrative keeps more closely to the original story, for in the second recall the figures for the rearrangement of order are equal in both groups: i.e. the Nupe figures rise by 5, to 16, and the Yoruba figures by 14, from 2 to 16. Evidently, Yoruba recall, relying more on logical connexion, is apt to abandon the external form, whereas the loose, devious way of Nupe retelling which in the second recall is not much more free than in the first, may be more tied to the external order of events as to the only framework establishing coherence.

Before I pass to the picture experiments I will quote two full stories, one from the Nupe and one from the Yoruba, to illustrate the fundamentally different attitudes with which the two groups approach their task:[1]

(N 11) Long ago, there lived a young man. He had a brother. They were elder and younger brother. They lived, they lived, till they saw a young girl. The girl was very beautiful, they loved her with one heart, both the elder and younger brother loved her.

[1] Other full quotations of the story will be found in *Africa* (3).